

Poverty & Race

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Unions Make Us Strong

by Julius Getman

My 2010 book *Restoring the Power of Unions: It Takes a Movement* (Yale Univ. Press) analyzes the current weakened state of organized labor and evaluates the prospect for union resurgence.

For organized labor to regain power it must become again, as it was in the past, a social movement. Organized labor today is in the main a progressive interest group, but not a movement. To constitute a movement requires something more than money, members and economic power, significant though all these factors are. A movement entails developing and utilizing the passionate energies of workers. It means fostering solidarity across unions and occupations. It requires leaders who are willing to trust and who are committed to sharing power with the union's rank-and-file. The spirit of movement also requires a concern for issues such as environmental justice, racial equality and the rights of immigrants which transcend the economic well-being of the union members. The spirit necessary for a vital movement remains largely dormant, although never totally absent in most labor organizations. In some labor organizations, it is abundantly present. Those organizations are the model that shows the way to a broader union resurgence.

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They demonstrate that achieving and maintaining a spirit of movement is possible, but is never easy. In every case in which it has been accomplished, the spirit of movement has required internal struggle and leaders with faith in the rank-and-file membership.

HERE

The history of HERE from its early days to the mid-1980s demonstrates that along the way the union has faced virtually every problem that has confronted the labor movement generally, including employer opposition, corruption, mob infiltration, weak internal leadership, fear of change, political divisions, racism, sexism, anti-immigrant prejudice and economic catastrophe. It has successfully overcome its internal problems through a dynamic collaboration between up-from-the-ranks working-class leadership and progressive, college-trained political activists with roots in student and civil-rights movements. The collaboration began when Vincent Sirabella, a long-time union dissident from an immigrant, working-class background who headed the union's local of maintenance workers at Yale, hired and trained John Wilhelm, a Yale graduate and long-time political activist. Together with a remarkable group of organizers and activists, they won a series of victories culminating with the successful organizing cam-

paign and strike by Yale's clerical and technical workers. The Connecticut and Yale locals of HERE in the early 1980s represented a return to a model of collaboration between workers and intellectuals that had been absent from organized labor for many years. Its main architect was Sirabella. The struggle at Yale and the tutelage of Sirabella were crucial to the leadership development of John Wilhelm, who is today president of HERE's successor organization, UNITE HERE.

The history of the Hotel Employees & Restaurant Employees International Union (HERE) is my focus because it has been transformed since the 1970s from a business union dedicated to the well-being of the staff to a workers' movement. This transformation is evident in its diverse and dedicated leadership and in the successes of its key locals in such cities as New York, San Francisco, Las Vegas, Los Angeles and Chicago. In

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each of these cities, the local unions have organized successfully, bargained effectively and allied themselves with progressive forces on major social issues. In all of these locations and others as well, HERE's success has been achieved despite the enmity of employers who have routinely resisted organization and have tried to use the bargaining process as a technique for weakening or destroying the union.

The greatest problem for unions generally is organizing workers in the face of determined employer resistance. Our current labor laws give an advantage to employers and make organizing difficult and often dangerous. Those unions that have had success in organizing in recent years have done so by obtaining agreement from employers to remain neutral and to grant recognition once a union was able to obtain authorization cards from a majority of workers in a mutually accepted unit. Obtaining such agreements has generally involved major struggles with employers who have rarely if ever accepted them without pressure. The success of the neutrality and card check agreements led organized labor to seek to have recognition through card check made a part of the National Labor Relations Act. This was the major provision of the Employee Free Choice Act (EFCA) which organized labor spent large sums of money on and devoted

great resources to in the aftermath of Democratic Party victories in the 2008 elections. Organized labor's focus on EFCA was a mistake: Augmenting the right to strike, by outlawing an employer's ability to permanently replace striking workers, would be considerably more valuable in building a sense of movement.

Organized labor must become again a social movement.

Not all the obstacles to labor's advance come from outside. Internal divisions—some ideological, some political and others personal—have been a major obstacle to worker solidarity, as labor history, including that of HERE, demonstrates with depressing regularity.

We Need a Strong, Progressive Movement

A strong, vital and progressive labor movement is important for our society, both economically and politically. When unions were strong, the United States had the longest period of equitably shared prosperity in our nation's history—a sharp contrast with our current situation of a weak labor movement and growing economic discontent and gross disparities in wealth. The weakness of organized labor has had a negative impact on our political culture. It has made it relatively easy for right-wing demagogues to shamelessly appropriate the banner of populism and to turn to their own advantage the feelings of working-class people that they are not visible to those in power.

It is important to explain the decline of the labor movement, why it has failed to organize the unorganized, has lost strikes, and has become more professional but less militant and less inspiring. The role of law must be recognized in this, but there is also need to place emphasis on the problems inherent in the structure of the current union movement and the atti-

tudes of its leaders. The labor movement bears more responsibility for its decline than most union leaders, liberal commentators and scholars have been willing to acknowledge. Understanding this complex issue requires focus on the law and the practice of organizing. The National Labor Relations Act (NLRA) has provided a system of representation elections for determining whether a group of workers is to be represented by a union. Management's advantage in the process comes mainly from its opportunity to assemble workers and argue that unionization would be a risk for them and not an advantage. Employers are permitted to reject union requests to similarly address the worker voters and state the case for unionization.

Because of his successes at Yale and elsewhere, Sirabella in the early 1980s was appointed HERE's director of organizing. Sirabella believed that the model he developed at Yale could transform the labor movement, and he began a national organizing campaign, which failed in immediate terms but which brought a new group of aggressive organizers into the unions. From that failure came the seeds of later success.

HERE's transformation into a movement came through a series of individual struggles: how Local 226, the Culinary, became a major force in Las Vegas after winning the Frontier strike, one of the longest and most bitter struggles in labor history which grew out of the determination of the Frontier Hotel's new owners to reduce wages and rid themselves of the union; how Local 11 in Los Angeles was transformed from a bastion of Anglo supremacy to a diverse battler for immigrant rights; how Local 2 in San Francisco managed to unite radical activists with long-time rank-and-file workers to become a major force in California.

The Merger

HERE subsequently merged with UNITE, an amalgamation of garment
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Building a National Museum

by Lonnie G. Bunch, III

Beginnings

When construction starts on the new National Museum of African American History and Culture in the Fall of 2012, it will signal a beginning for some. For those of us who have been involved with the Museum's development, however, the groundbreaking will be more like rounding the clubhouse turn on a long, fast and furious race to the building's opening on the National Mall in 2015.

Calls for a national museum recognizing the contributions of African Americans to the building and defense of the nation date back to the early 1900s. Two World Wars, a Depression and political opposition, however, prevented any progress until 1988, when Rep. John Lewis of Georgia, an icon of the Civil Rights Movement, introduced a bill in Congress.

Still, it would be more than a decade before Congress created a Presidential Commission on the National Museum of African American History and Culture in 2002.

Finally, in 2003, nearly 100 years after the first appeals, President George W. Bush signed a bill establishing the National Museum of African American History and Culture as part of the Smithsonian Institution. The Smithsonian Board of Regents, the governing body of the Institution, voted in January 2006 to build the Museum on a five-acre site on Constitution Avenue between 14th and 15th Streets NW. This site is between the Washington Monument and the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History. The new museum, the Smithsonian's 19th, will be the only national museum devoted exclusively to the documentation of Afri-

can American life, art, history and culture.

The enabling legislation also established a council for the Museum to advise the Smithsonian Regents on such museum matters as recommendations on the Museum's planning, design and construction; the Museum's administration; and acquisition of objects for the Museum's collections. The Museum's 25-member council, similar to a board of directors, is a veritable who's who of the corporate and business world, including American Express CEO Kenneth Chenault; former BET founder

I see this history as America's history.

and CEO Robert Johnson; and music impresarios Quincy Jones and Oprah Winfrey, just to name a few. Recent additions to the council include former First Lady Laura Bush and former Secretary of State Gen. Colin Powell.

In early 2005, I was chosen to be the Museum's founding director. At the time, I was President of the Chicago Historical Society, one of America's oldest museums of history. Prior to that, I spent a number of years in various positions at the Smithsonian. From 1994 to 2000, I was Associate Director for Curatorial Affairs at the National Museum of American History. From 1978 to 1979, I was an education specialist at the National Air and Space Museum, where I developed multi-cultural instructional programs and researched and wrote the history of African Americans in aviation.

I knew returning to the Smithsonian as director of this new museum was an opportunity not to be missed. I realized that my job at the Chicago Historical Society fulfilled my soul, but helping to build the National Museum would nurture the souls of my ancestors.

A Museum for All

As I go about the daunting task of building a museum and finding the objects that will fill it, my vision for the institution is that it will be one that speaks to all Americans, not just African Americans. This is not a museum that celebrates black history solely for black Americans. Rather, I see this history as America's history. We will use African-American history and culture as a lens into what it means to be an American.

Visitors don't have to wait for the Museum to open in 2015. Exhibitions and events are going on right now. Through collaboration with IBM, the first phase of the Museum on the Web was launched in September 2007. MOW offers interactive programs and educational resources for people of all ages. A prominent feature of the website is the Memory Book, which allows site visitors to share family stories, photographs and intergenerational conversations.

The Museum opened its inaugural exhibition in May 2007 at the International Center of Photography in New York in a unique collaboration with that museum and the Smithsonian's National Portrait Gallery, from whose collection the exhibition images were drawn. The exhibition,

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We dedicate this issue of *Poverty & Race* to the half-century of effective civil rights work, in Alabama and nationally, by the **Rev. Fred L. Shuttleworth**, 89, whose name in news accounts was frequently preceded, appropriately, by the adjective "courageous" or "fiery"; and to **Prof. Derrick Bell**, 80, a model activist law school teacher and scholar—both of whom passed away in October.

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"Let Your Motto Be Resistance: African American Photographs," is on a national tour through 2012.

In January 2009, the museum opened its own gallery in space provided by my friends at American History, which is being used to mount exhibitions until the new building is completed. The first exhibition presented in the gallery was "The Scurlock Studio and Black Washington: Picturing the Promise," featuring more than 100 photos taken by one of Washington, DC's preeminent African-American photographers.

The third exhibition organized by the Museum and the second opened in the NMAAHC Gallery in April 2010, "Ain't Nothing Like the Real Thing: How the Apollo Theater Shaped American Entertainment," also made national tour stops in a number of U.S. cities, including New York, Detroit, Atlanta and Los Angeles.

The Museum recently opened its latest exhibition, "For All the World to See: Visual Culture and the Struggle for Civil Rights." The multi-media exhibition examines the role that images played in the fight for racial equality. It features photographs, TV and movie clips, magazines, newspapers, posters, books, pamphlets and other media.

One of my first priorities at the Museum was to create "Save Our African American Treasures: A National Collections Initiative of Discovery and Preservation." In this series of day-long workshops, participants work with conservation specialists and historians to learn to identify and preserve items of historical value ranging from photographs and jewelry to military uniforms and textiles. Instruction is offered through hands-on activities, audio-visual presentations and a 30-page guidebook developed by the Museum. Launched in Chicago in January 2008, "Treasures" workshops have been held in cities around the country, including Atlanta, Charleston, SC, Los Angeles, New York, Detroit and Washington, DC.

While you are waiting for the National Museum of African American History & Culture to open, there are currently two related Smithsonian exhibits of interest (one co-produced by the Museum, both on the National Mall near the new Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial):

RACE: Are We So Different? currently on view at the National Museum of Natural History (until January 8, 2012) <http://www.mnh.si.edu/exhibits/race/>

For All the World to See: Visual Culture and the Struggle for Civil Rights, at the National Museum of American History (until November 27, 2011)—in collaboration with the National Museum of African American History & Culture <http://americanhistory.si.edu/exhibitions/>

And be sure to visit the wonderful exhibits at the African American Civil War Memorial and Museum, 1925 Vermont Ave. NW

In a related development, The United States National Slavery Museum, an organization founded by former Virginia Governor Douglas L. Wilder to build a museum in Fredericksburg, VA, to have opened several years ago, has filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection.

Museum Design and Construction

The Smithsonian held a design competition that attracted entries by architects from around the world. Six firms were chosen as finalists and asked to submit a formal proposal for

I'm nurturing the souls of my ancestors.

the design of the new Museum. In April 2009, I chaired a jury that selected Freelon Adjaye Bond/SmithGroup as the architectural team to design the Museum. The Tanzanian-born architect David Adjaye, who has offices in Berlin, London and New York, is the lead designer.

I am pleased to have the opportunity to work with this talented team. Their vision and spirit of collaboration moved all members of the design competition jury. I am confident that they will give us a building that will be an important addition to the National Mall and to the architecture of this city.

Collections

Even as I was choosing an architect to build the Museum, curators

were already busy looking for the artifacts that will fill it. In addition to its central hall, the Museum is slated to have galleries focusing on history, culture and community. Within the history galleries will be exhibitions on slavery; the period following Reconstruction into the 20th Century and the civil rights era; and the years after 1968.

The culture galleries will include ones on music, sports, visual arts and one entitled the Center for African American Media Arts (CAAMA). CAAMA will be a specialized resource that will house extensive collections of various media, including photographs, films, recordings and other items relating to the African Diaspora. CAAMA will also provide onsite expertise and web access to images from other Smithsonian Institution collections, as well as important holdings housed at external institutions.

The community galleries will be titled "Power of Place," "Making a Way out of No Way" and "Military History." The "Power of Place" gallery will immerse visitors in the broad diversity of African-American life in different regions across the United States. Through interactive, multi-media technologies, visitors will explore the themes of place and region.

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Beyond Public/Private: Understanding Corporate Power

by john a. powell & Stephen Menendian

Who inhabits the circle of human concern? Who counts as a person or a member of the community, and what rights accompany that status? In a democratic society, there is nothing more vital than membership. Those who inhabit the circle of human concern, who count as full members, may rightfully demand such concern and expect full regards. It is they who design and give meaning to that society's very structures and institutions; they have voice. This is the ideal of democracy. But there is an important question: Who inhabits this circle?

In our history, there have been varying answers to these questions. In *Dred Scott*, our nation's highest Court announced that persons of African descent were not and could never become members of the political community, and enjoyed "no rights which the white man was bound to respect." Yet the same Court carefully carved space in the circle for corporations, extending quasi-citizenship rights, and eventually full personhood. Consequently, corporations today enjoy never intended constitutional rights and protections. They exercise authority, power and influence that threaten not just democratic accountability, environmental safety and the rights of workers, but individual freedom, personal privacy, and civil and human rights.

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This article is a popular adaptation of the authors' article of a similar title published in the Kentucky Law Journal, 100 KY. L.J. (2011/2012).

Occupy Wall Street

The Occupy Wall Street Movement is a grassroots challenge to this power. The Movement harkens back to the 1870s Populist and farmers' rebellion against unchecked financial speculation which regularly set off Wall Street panics that sent families ever deeper into debt. The Occupy Movement highlights the contemporary predatory practices of companies like Goldman Sachs, one of the engineers of the great 2008 financial meltdown. On the other hand, the anti-statist Tea Party would insulate and secure corporate

The architects of this nation and its citizens understood that concentrated power in either government or the economy may threaten freedom.

power, leaving individuals defenseless against unchecked corporate avarice. Its most basic tenets are market fundamentalism and governmental non-interference in the economy: Roll back regulations, reduce taxes and privatize government. These ideas are offered as the best, last defense of individual liberty in what is commonly perceived as an enduring contest between the public and private spheres.

Yet the debate over public versus private misses the point. In fact, it hides the real issue. The debate over public versus private, the size of government, the tax rate, the stimulus, the jobs bill, public worker benefits and so much more draws attention away from the behemoth in the boardroom: corporate power. By framing the issue as public versus private, government versus the individual, we blind ourselves to the ways in which corporations distort our democracy.

The Occupy Wall Street Movement senses this, but cannot name it as such.

The public/private distinction papers over meaningful differences between real human beings and corporations. Entrepreneurs, small business owners, farmers, workers and enormous corporations are all swept up into the "private" sphere. In turn, the public sphere is seen as a threat to the private, and any growth in government as harmful to all "private" persons. From this perspective, regulations intended to curb the excesses of corporate behavior seem equally hostile to the small business owner or homeowner. For example, the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act, which was designed to protect consumers and homeowners from the kind of predatory lending practices that resulted in the meltdown of 2008, is attacked as an unnecessary regulation that strangles local banks, small businesses and start-ups.

How have we gotten to the point where any regulation that constrains major corporations is viewed as an attack on individual liberty, small farmers and business owners? We must know that neither corporations nor markets can exist without enabling and constraining regulations. There never has been or will be an unregulated market. The architects of this nation and its citizens understood that concentrated power in either government or the economy may threaten freedom. But those on the right miss this reality in current debates, in large part because the public/private dichotomy uncomfortably sorts everyone into one of these two categories. The result is a blind spot in which corporations dwell as merely "private" persons like everyone else. In essence, the public/private distinction has grounded the expansion and protection of corporate power.

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A Brief History of Corporate Power

Corporations were never intended to be persons or citizens. In our Republic's early years, corporations were public institutions, chartered to serve public purposes: build roads, facilitate commerce and educate the public. In exchange for the benefits of corporate form, including perpetual life, corporations were expected to serve the nation. Early Americans were as wary of concentrated economic power in corporate form as they were of concentrated political power in monarchical form. But 19th Century lawyers and judges, often in the service of corporate entities, began to free corporations from state control.

Corporations were traditionally understood to be creatures of the state—artificial entities that could enter into contracts, sue and be sued, and enjoy perpetual life. By the 1840s, the Taney Court decided that corporations counted as citizens under the Constitution for the purpose of suing in federal court. Passage of the 14th Amendment, designed to protect the rights of freed slaves after the Civil War, became an even firmer basis for protecting corporate prerogative. The equal protection and due process protections therein were quickly extended to corporations. And, in *Santa Clara v. Southern RR* (1886), the Court asserted, without argument or explanation, that corporations were considered “persons” under the Constitution that enjoyed many of the rights it afforded.

Just as the Court extended standing rights to corporations, it denied those rights to blacks. This inverse connection between limited rights for blacks and other marginalized groups and the concomitant expansion of corporate power persists. Between 1890 and 1910, just 19 cases brought under the 14th Amendment dealt with the rights of descendants of slaves, whereas 288 dealt with the rights of corporations. Justice Hugo Black pointed out that by 1938, of the cases

Finding Common Ground: Coordinating Housing and Education Policy to Promote Integration

A new report from PRRAC and the National Coalition on School Diversity

The “Reciprocal Relationship” Between Integrated Housing and Education

The Housing Voucher Program as a Bridge to Better Schools

Sustainable Communities and Choice Neighborhoods: Coordinating Schools, Housing and Transportation Planning in Support of Racial and Economic Integration

Contributors include: Roslyn Arlin Mickelson, Ingrid Gould Ellen, Keren Horn, Heather Schwartz, David Rusk, Robert C. Embry Jr., Stefanie DeLuca, Peter Rosenblatt, Elizabeth DeBray, Erica Frankenberg, Deborah McKoy, Jeffrey Vincent, Philip Tegeler and Susan Eaton.

Available at www.school-diversity.org

that applied the 14th Amendment since the *Santa Clara* decision, “less than one-half of 1 per cent invoked in it protection of the Negro race, and more than 50 per cent asked that its benefits be extended to corporations.” This period is well-known as the Jim Crow era, and in legal circles as the

The case against corporations is not anti-capital.

infamous *Lochner* era, named for Supreme Court decisions that struck down state labor and minimum wage laws, and economic regulations. The Tea Party's anti-statism is reminiscent of this era, which severely curtailed the power of the federal government and states to regulate the economy.

This period came to a crashing halt with the New Deal and FDR's Court-packing plan to stop the Court from overturning it. The Court reversed course on both race and economic regulations in a series of cases epitomized by *Carolene Products*. In that case, the Court announced a rule that economic regulations were presumptively constitutional rather than presumptively unconstitutional, and that courts would defer to legislatures to

fashion reasonable labor and wage laws in the public interest. At the same time, the Court announced that laws that reflect prejudice against “discrete and insular minorities” would be more carefully scrutinized by courts. As the law constrained corporate and economic prerogative, it conversely protected the rights of “minorities.”

Even as this approach helped spur the Civil Rights Movement, a massive resistance emerged in the South, followed by a backlash in the North. The country and courts again moved away from protecting, first minorities, then all people, in favor of expanding corporate discretion. It was Justice Powell, a former lawyer in the firm that opposed *Brown*, who secured renewed corporate power that had been limited by civil rights and labor. He simultaneously rejected the claim that the 14th Amendment protected “discrete and insular minorities,” and revived the spirit of corporations as deserving of protection as persons and citizens.

In the 1970s, Justice Powell authored a series of decisions arguing that commercial speech did not lose First Amendment protections because of the corporate actor. Even the conservative Justice Rehnquist foresaw the danger of protecting the

free speech rights of entities that control vast amounts of economic power and enjoy the “blessings of potentially perpetual life and limited liability.” In particular, the dissenting Justices warned of the potentially distorting influence of corporate campaign contributions—protected as speech—in a democracy. These fears have now been realized and the full logic of corporate personhood exposed. In *Citizens United v. FEC* in 2010, the Court held that corporations enjoy unbridled First Amendment rights to spend independent money on political campaigns.

We are currently living out Powell’s dream, not Dr. King’s. It is Justice Powell’s vision which Chief Justice Roberts and his Court have embraced, along with the Tea Party. Speaking less in terms of the 14th Amendment and its purposes, they frame this dream in terms of “public” and “private,” with some acknowledgement that we may need to cut back on civil rights, unions and environmental protection in order to secure these liberties for corporations.

Beyond Public/Private

We do not mean to suggest, however, that the exercise of excessive corporate power is simply a byproduct of errant Court decisions rendered over the past 125 years. While removing corporate personhood and limiting corporate speech rights within our jurisprudence would be a step in the right direction, the manifold bases of corporate power are much broader. It is the public/private distinction that distorts our legal and political culture into thinking that corporations are just like everyone else. The case against corporations is not anti-capital. Rather, it is an indictment of the pernicious influence of corporate power to influence our political system, manipulate our democracy and even reverse legislative decisions.

We suggest that a more appropriate schema for understanding corporate power and observing the dangers posed by it is to think in terms of four

domains rather than two: public, private, non-public/non-private, and corporate. The conflation of the corporate and private spheres confuses small business owners and ordinary citizens with powerful corporate actors. It also makes any legislative act that curbs corporate power appear to infringe the liberties of ordinary people. Critical legal scholars have long criticized the public/private dichotomy as a meaningless and misleading legal distinction. Historically, corporations were both quasi-public and quasi-private entities, but the conflation of corporations and their confirmed personhood with private space became a source of corporate

Corporations are neither people nor citizens.

power, and continues to generate unintended corporate constitutional protections, rights, powers and authority.

The idea of public or private spheres is also misleading for certain marginalized groups that enjoy, historically and today, neither the rights and freedoms of the public in public space, nor those of individuals in private space. The public/private distinction not only makes it more difficult to appreciate how corporations threaten individual freedom and privacy, but to understand the exclusion of marginalized groups from both public benefits and private rights. Historically, women and slaves inhabited the non-public/non-private sphere. Today, immigrants, the incarcerated and formerly incarcerated, and to some extent the disabled, also inhabit this space, which is sometimes abusive.

Privatization as Corporatization

The expansion of corporate power represents a threat, not only to the public, but to the private and non-public/non-private spheres as well. In

Kelo v. City of New London, the Supreme Court upheld the condemnation of a stretch of riverfront homes when the sole purpose of the taking was to enable private redevelopment by pharmaceutical giant Pfizer, Inc. Although not a privatization case, this decision suggests the true function of privatization. The privatization of public entities or property is not simply a shift from public to private control; it is a shift from public to corporate. As a heuristic, the public/private dichotomy fails to capture these shifts in power or account for the consequences.

Not only may corporations collect and store personal information (Google’s “street view project” being one example), individual privacy and speech rights are often sharply circumscribed in corporate space. Consider the context of a commercial shopping mall. We may think of that space as public space, but it is not. Not only are there limited privacy rights free from surveillance, but First Amendment rights are limited, and there is virtually no right to organize or petition.

Meanwhile, the Tea Party would shield and protect the discretion of corporate prerogatives from the government under the banner of free markets, while remaining silent regarding the exclusion and oppression of the “private sector.” The unbridled exercise of corporate rights and prerogatives threatens our democratic process as well as “discrete and insular minorities.” It is our view that the market, banks and corporations should exist to serve people, as they were originally intended to do, not the other way around. Neither Adam Smith nor the founders of the nation subscribed to a faith in the intrinsic beneficence of corporate interests for the nation. Quite the contrary, they feared the concentration of economic power just as they feared the concentration of political power.

Who inhabits the circle of human concern? Some might argue that the poor, unemployed, gays, immigrants or Muslims do not belong as full mem-

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bers of our democracy. On the other hand, many, such as those in the Tea Party movement or jurists like Chief Justice Taney, would argue that corporations do belong, and enjoy constitutional privileges and rights. Along with the Occupy Wall Street Movement, we reject this position. We could draw the circle of inclusion and belonging liberally, but it would not include corporations. The public/private dichotomy is a false one that obscures what is at stake and blinds us to the separate corporate sphere. Despite the position of the Court and well-known politicians, corporations are neither people nor citizens. They do not belong in either the traditional public or private space, but rather inhabit their own space. Our position is not anti-corporate. Rather, we call for a proper alignment of corporations in a liberal democracy. Corporations make good servants, but bad masters. To realize this realignment will require a transformative wave of individual, judicial and legislative actors. Our goal is not to eliminate corporations, but to build an inclusive democracy with a sustainable economy of shared responsibility and prosperity. This is the unfinished dream of America. □

(MUSEUM: Continued from page 4)

The “Making a Way...” gallery will feature themed stories that will show how African Americans crafted possibilities in a world that denied them opportunities.

I recently hired Ralph Appelbaum Associates, planners, designers and producers of award-winning museum exhibitions, visitor centers and educational environments, to design the galleries.

So far, the Museum has acquired roughly 11,000 objects, including art, photographs, costumes and fashion accessories, musical instruments, sports-related objects and many others. Among objects recently acquired are *The Mothership*—the iconic stage prop made famous by legendary funk

collective Parliament-Funkadelic; the set from *Soul Train*, the longest running syndicated program in American history; and we will soon accept delivery of a PT-13 Stearman bi-plane used to train the Tuskegee Airmen.

One of my favorite objects in the collection is a beautifully engraved powder horn with a stopper, with the inscription: “Prince Simbo his horn made at Glastenbury November 17th AD 1777.” This powder horn was used during the American Revolution by a black soldier and former slave, Prince Simbo, a resident of Glastenbury, Connecticut. Simbo served as a private in the Seventh Regiment, Connecticut Line of the Continental Army.

construction czar” for New Orleans) a special issue of *Housing Policy Debate* (Jan. 2012 release) on “Recovery After Hurricane Katrina.”

● *Putting the Movement Back Into Civil Rights Teaching*, the resource book PRRAC co-published with Teaching for Change, was selected by Teaching Tolerance (the project of the Southern Poverty Law Center) as one of the top 20 titles from the last two decades that is “an enduring classic.”

● As is my custom, and pleasure, at the end of each year, I want to thank the various folks who assist in getting *P&R* out: our numerous short-term policy and law interns, but especially **Angela Parker** of the Center for Law & Policy staff, who devotes a portion of her time to PRRAC and is particularly helpful in putting together our Resources Sections, **Michelle Vinson**, who tirelessly updates our mailing list, and **Teri Grimwood**, who for lots and lots of years has assisted me with all kinds of projects—in this instance, creating the layout for each issue. - CH

PRRAC Update

● **Xavier de Souza Briggs** has returned to MIT (and to PRRAC’s Social Science Advisory Board) after 3 years in Washington as Associate Director of OMB—welcome back, Xav.

● PRRAC Board member **John Powell** will shortly relocate to the Bay Area, where he will be Director of Univ. of California-Berkeley’s new Haas Center for Diversity and Inclusion as well as occupant of the endowed Robert D. Haas Chair in Equity and Inclusion.

● PRRAC Social Science Advisory Board member **Gregory Squires** has received the Helen and Robert Lynd Lifetime Achievement Award from the Community & Urban Sociology Section of the American Sociological Assn.

● We are pleased to welcome **Ebony Gayles** as PRRAC’s new Law & Policy Fellow. She is a 2011 graduate of the Washington Univ. School of Law, with a strong background in fair housing law.

● PRRAC Dir. of Research **Chester Hartman** has co-edited with **Edward Blakely** (former “re-

Related documents include a payment note to Prince Simbo; a manuscript document listing the cost of supplies for eleven soldiers, including Prince Simbo; and a manuscript document providing blankets for two black soldiers, Sampson Freeman and Prince Simbo. With this and other compelling material, the Museum will present the rich history of African Americans who served in the U.S. military.

For some, the year 2015 may seem far away. But not for me and my staff at the National Museum of African American History and Culture. We still have a lot of work to do. We are in a race with time, and we can see the finish line in the distance. □

(LABOR UNIONS: Continued from page 2)

industry unions. The merger made obvious sense to most observers and supporters of HERE. It was thought likely to strengthen both unions. HERE had a growing membership base but was sorely lacking in money to fund organizing and job actions. UNITE had great resources, including prime NY property and a successful bank, but a declining membership base. Each union had a long history of organizing immigrant workers. The leaders of the two unions spoke a common language and seemed committed to similar progressive values. Bruce Raynor of UNITE became general president and John Wilhelm was designated as co-president.

Differing Leadership Styles

However, behind the apparent similarities lay very different styles of leadership and different approaches to organizing. Wilhelm's style of leadership is notably collaborative, while Raynor's is notably top-down. Wilhelm and other leaders of HERE believed in organizing through worker committees. Raynor favored organizing through deals between himself and management officials. An open dispute erupted when it became apparent that Wilhelm and not Raynor would be elected general president at the union's 2009 convention. The dispute became open and increasingly ugly in the Winter of 2008. It involved several lawsuits, including one brought by Raynor to force dissolution of the merger. The battle was

made far more bitter and potentially destructive by the involvement of Andy Stern, president of the Service Employees International Union (SEIU). Stern's goal was to incorporate both UNITE and HERE into SEIU. To achieve this goal, he supported Raynor's insistence that the merger be dissolved. When Wilhelm and his allies rejected Stern's proposal, Stern and Raynor created Workers United, composed of dissident elements in UNITE HERE. Bruce Raynor was promptly elected

NLRA is worth saving, but needs fundamental overhaul.

president of the new organization, which announced that it would raid UNITE HERE locals. A long, bitter battle ensued which, despite the Workers United advantages in money and staff, was won by UNITE HERE, which held fast and won the loyalty of its members and the support of key leaders of organized labor.

The NLRA Election Process

The fact that the NLRA election process does not work well for unions is well recognized by commentators and union spokespeople, most of whom focus on unlawful employer resistance and the law's system of woefully inadequate remedies. It is partly with a view to avoiding the harmful impact of illegal employer behavior that unions made the passage of the EFCA their major goal. Earlier field studies indicate that unions and academic commentators have exaggerated the impact of the threats and reprisals, and they have for too long limited themselves to what is called "hot-shop organizing," i.e., focusing on locations where worker discontent is evident.

The ability to strike is critical to the success of the labor movement. And the law, particularly the right of employers to hire permanent replace-

ments, has turned out to be a significant hindrance to labor's effective use of the strike. The secondary-boycott laws are both harmful and unconstitutional, and the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act (RICO) has a potentially devastating effect on the strength of the strike weapon.

Proposed Changes to the NLRA

EFCA was unlikely to provide the great boost to organizing that its proponents look forward to and its opponents dread. EFCA would not do away with organizing campaigns: The employer's advantage in terms of access to employees would remain a critical factor. Passage of the act would lead many employers to conduct anti-union campaigns earlier than they might otherwise. It is vital to amend the NLRA to prohibit employers from hiring permanent replacement workers in place of strikers. The regular use of permanent replacement workers during the 1980s has made organized labor fearful, with good reason, of striking. However, throughout labor history, successful strikes have been crucial to organizing success.

It is important to consider whether the NLRA, administered by a supposedly expert agency, is a worthwhile scheme or whether it should be scrapped and replaced by a different federal act or by state law. The NLRA is worth saving, but it needs a fundamental overhaul. Board members should be chosen from a limited pool of neutral experts, possibly from the National Academy of Arbitrators, and a special court should review its decisions. Among the needed amendments to the NLRA are the following:

- The board's remedial power needs to be increased.
- Injunctions against employers' unfair labor practices need to be regularly issued, just as they are currently issued against union secondary boycotts.

(Please turn to page 10)

The U.S. Human Rights Network is holding its 2011 Natl. Human Rights Conf. & Membership Meeting, Dec. 9-11 in Los Angeles. Contact info@ushrnetwork.org

(LABOR UNIONS: Continued from page 9)

- Unions need to be given equal time to respond to employer speeches and meetings, and the election process should be accelerated.
- Employees unlawfully fired during an organizing campaign should be quickly reinstated.
- Most significantly, strikers who engage in no serious misconduct should not be risking their jobs when they lawfully walk out.

A frequently made suggestion is to permit minority bargaining, wherein unions which do not represent a majority of workers in a unit bargain contracts for their own members. Several prominent labor scholars believe that the NLRA, properly interpreted, permits minority bargaining.

I disagree. Minority bargaining violates the law and permitting it would not do much to strengthen the labor movement.

Summary

It is important to recognize the distinction between organized labor in its current state and a vital, democratic labor movement. Too often, union leaders have failed to take needed chances or to accept responsibility for their organizing and bargaining failures. It is possible to organize and increase worker power in the face of employer opposition and a hostile NLRB, as several unions—including HERE—have demonstrated. Fear of failure has made unions too cautious

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CFC # is 11710**

and unwilling to depart from the antiquated models. Taking chances is critical. Indeed, failed efforts, such as HERE's national organizing drive of the late 1980s, have provided the basis for later success. The success of the labor movement is critical to the goal of a just society. For all its flaws and weaknesses, organized labor provides the most effective voice for the workers, immigrants and progressive causes. □

Resources

Most Resources are available directly from the issuing organization, either on their website (if given) or via other contact information listed. Materials published by PRRAC are available through our website: www.prrac.org.

Prices include the shipping/handling (s/h) charge when this information is provided to PRRAC. "No price listed" items often are free.

When ordering items from PRRAC: SASE = self-addressed stamped envelope (44¢ unless otherwise indicated). Orders may not be placed by telephone or fax. Please indicate from which issue of P&R you are ordering.

Race/Racism

- **The Civil Rights History Project** has been launched by the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress and the Smithsonian

Institution's new National Museum of African American History and Culture. Inf. at <http://www.loc.gov/today/pr2011/11-150.html> [12982]

- **SNCC Collection:** A 38 DVD series that covers the full 50+ hours of plenary sessions, panel discussions and cultural presentations at SNCC's 50th anniversary celebration/gathering is available from California Newsreel, 500 Third St., #505, SF, CA 94107, 415/284-7800. [12989]

- **"Wealth Gaps Rise to Record Highs Between Whites, Blacks, Hispanics Twenty-to-One,"** by Paul Taylor, Richard A. Fry & Rakesh Kochhar (July 2011), from the Pew Research Center, is available at [\[whites-blacks-hispanics/\]\(http://whites-blacks-hispanics/\) \[13006\]](http://pewsocialtrends.org/2011/07/26/wealth-gaps-rise-to-record-highs-between-</div><div data-bbox=)

- **"A Millennial Perspective on Diversity & Multiculturalism,"** a part of the AAF Thought Leadership Forum Series, will be held **Nov. 9, 2011** in Minneapolis. Inf. from Bruce Ford, 202/898-0089, bford@aaf.org [13029]
- **The Equal Justice Society** is holding its Judge Constance Baker Motley Civil Rights Gala **Dec. 7, 2011** in San Francisco. Richard Kluger is an invited speaker. Inf. from Eva Paterson, EJS, 260 California St., #700, SF, CA 94111, 415/288-4700. [13010]

Poverty/Welfare

- **"Downward Mobility from the Middle Class: Waking Up from the**

American Dream," by Gregory Acs (Sept. 2011), appeared in *Pew Charitable Trusts*. [13007]

- **"TANF Performance: How States Are Raising the Measurement Bar,"** sponsored by The Urban Institute, took place Sept. 21, 2011. Inf. from publicaffairs@urban.org [12969]
- **"The 15th Annual Welfare Research & Evaluation Conference,"** sponsored by the Adm. for Children and Families, HHS, will be held **May 30-June 1, 2012** in Wash., DC. Proposal deadline Nov. 7. Inf. from Erica. Zielewski@acf.hhs.gov [13000]

Criminal Justice

- ***Attica Justice: The Cruel 30-Year Legacy of***

the Nation's Bloodiest Prison Rebellion, Which Transformed the American Prison System, by Donald A. Jelinek (438 pp., 2011), has been published by Jelinek Publishers. [12988]

- **"No Place for Kids: The Case for Reducing Juvenile Incarceration,"** by Richard A. Mendel (47 pp., 2011), is available (possibly free) from the Annie E. Casey Foundation, 701 St. Paul St., Baltimore, MD 21202, 410/547-6600, www.aecf.org [13002]

- ***Criminal Justice 2036: A 25-Year Vision for Reform*** and "Unlocking Justice"—shown at The Sentencing Project's Oct. 11 25th Anniversary Forum—are available in streaming video at www.sentencingproject.org [13008]

- **Detailed demographics of correctional populations** now are available via a new database prepared by the Prison Policy Initiative—useful for redistricting professionals and others. Contact PPI at PO Box 127, Northampton, MA 01027, www.prisonpolicy.org [13033]

- **"Addressing Racial Disparities in Incarceration,"** by Marc Mauer, appears, along with 7 other articles, in a special 63-page, Sept. 2011 issue of *The Prison Journal*, "Criminal Justice Reform: Issues and Recommendations for Correction." [13037]

Education

- ***Exploring Inclusive Educational Practices Through Professional Inquiry***, eds. Gordon L. Porter & Deirdre Smith

(298 pp., Aug. 2011, \$39), has been published by Sense Publishers. Inf. from paul.chambers@sensepublishers.com [12975]

- **FairTest Materials:** A set of such are available from Monty Neil at monty@fairtest.org [12980]

- **"Profiles of Risk: Education"** is a 4-page, July 2011 Research Brief, available (possibly free) from the Institute on Children, Poverty & Homelessness, 44 Cooper Sq., NYC, NY 10003, 212/358-8086, info@icphusa.org, www.ICPHusa.org [12981]

- ***Quality Education as a Constitutional Right: Creating a Grassroots Movement to Transform Public Schools***, eds. Robert P. (aka Bob) Moses, Joan T. Wynne, Ernesto Cortes, Jr. & Lisa Delpit (192 pp., 2010, \$16), has been published by Beacon Press. Among the contributors to the 9 chapters: Charles Payne, Jeanie Oakes. [12998]

- **"Effective Teaching as a Civil Right: How Building Instructional Capacity Can Help Close the Achievement Gap,"** by Linda Darling-Hammond (15 pp.), appeared in the Fall 2011 issue of *Voices in Urban Education*, available from the Brown Univ. Annenberg Institute for School Reform, Box 1985, Providence, RI 02912. [13001]

- **"Victims of the Churn: The Damaging Impact of California's Teacher Layoff Policies on Schools, Students and Communities in Three Large School Districts"** (8 pp., Feb. 2011) is available

(possibly free) from The Education Trust-West, 1814 Franklin St., #220, Oakland, CA 94612, 510/465-6444, www.edtrustwest.org [13013]

- **"Disadvantaged Students: School Districts Have Used Title I Funds Primarily to Support Instruction"** is a 58-page, July 15, 2011 GAO report, available at <http://www.gao.gov/products/GAO-11-595> [13016]

- **"Testing the Impact of Higher Achievement/s Year-Round Out-of-School-Time Program on Academic Outcomes,"** by Carla Herrera, Leigh L. Linden, Amy Arbretton & Jean Baldwin Grossman (11 pp., 2011), is available (possibly free) from Public/Private Ventures, 2000 Market St., #500, Phila., PA 19103, 215/557-4400. [13021]

- **"Starving America's Public Schools: How Budget Cuts and Policy Mandates Are Hurting Our Nation's Students,"** by Jeff Bryant (44 pp., Oct. 2011), is available (no price listed) from the National Education Assn., 1201 16th St. NW, Wash., DC 20036, 202/822-7200. [13022]

- **"Building State Capacity for School Improvement: Lessons for Federal Policymakers"** is a July 2011 Policy Brief from the Sandler Foundation. Available from Sandler_Foundation@xmr3.com [13039]

- **"A System Approach of Building a World-Class Teaching Profession: The Role of Induction,"** co-sponsored by the Alliance for Excellent Education & the New Teacher Center, took place Oct. 4, 2011 in

Washington, DC. Inf. from 202/828-0828. [12966]

- **"The Impact of Higher Achievement's Year-Round Out-of-School-Time Program on Academic Outcomes"** was held Oct. 14, 2011 by American Youth Policy Forum. Inf. from AYPF, 1836 Jefferson Pl. NW, Wash., DC 20036, 202/775-9731, www.aypf.org [13014]

- **"Something in Common: The Common Core Standards and the Next Chapter in American Education"** was held Oct. 18, 2011 by the Alliance for Excellent Education. Inf. from them at 1201 Conn. Ave. NW, #901, Wash., DC 20036, all4ed@all4ed.org [13027]

- **The Public Education Network's National Conference** takes (took if this arrives too late) place **Nov. 6-8** in Wash., DC. Inf. on their website: <http://publiceducation.org/annualconference> [12963]

- **"Dropping Out: Why Students Drop Out of High School and What Can Be Done About It"** is a **Nov. 18, 2011** Forum by the American Youth Policy Forum. Inf. from them, 1836 Jefferson Pl. NW, Wash., DC 20036, 202/775-9731, www.aypf.org [13024]

- **"The 2011 National Opportunity to Learn Education Summit"** will take place **Dec. 8-10, 2011** in Wash., DC. Among the speakers: Diane Ravitch, Bernard Lafayette. Inf. from the Shott Foundation, 675 Mass. Ave., 8th flr., Cambridge, MA 02139. [12973]

- **"Culturally Responsive Education"** is/was a 4-part Learning Series for Teachers, held by NYU's Steinhardt School of Culture, Education and Human Development. The first 2 parts took place Oct. 24 and 25. The final 2 are **Dec. 8 & 9, 2011**. Dec. 8 session is "Let's Talk About Race II: Exploring Racial/Ethnic Identity Development in Black & Latino Students." Inf. at <http://culturallyresponsive.eventbrite.com> [13030]

Employment/ Labor/Jobs Policy

- **Rebuilding Schools and Jobs:** Sen. Jim Webb (VA) has introduced a bipartisan plan to provide tax credit for public-private partnerships to rebuild decaying schools across the country and create thousands of jobs in the process. Details from senator_jim_webb@webb.ews.senate.gov [13034]

Families/ Women/ Children

- **Sister Citizen: Shame, Stereotypes, and Black Women in America**, by Melissa V. Harris-Perry (378 pp., 2011, \$30), has been published by Yale Univ. Press. [12962]
- **"Profiles of Risk: Family Structure"** is a 4-page, Aug. 2011 Research Brief, available (possibly free) from the Institute on Children, Poverty & Homelessness, 44 Cooper Sq., NYC, NY 10003, 212/358-8086, www.icpny.org [12987]

- **"The Nation's Priorities and Children: How Well Do They Go Together?"** was held Oct. 28, 2011 by The Urban Institute. Inf. from public affairs@urban.org [13019]

Health

- **"US Housing Insecurity and the Health of Very Young Children,"** by Diana Becker et al., is a 7-page article in the August 2011 issue of the *American Journal of Public Health*. [12964]
- **American Birthright**, a follow-up documentary and multimedia project to Unnatural Causes, is being embarked on by California Newsreel, 500 3rd St., #505, SF, CA 94107, 415/284-7800. [12974]
- **Poverty, Health and Law: Readings and Cases for Medical-Legal Partnership**, eds. Elizabeth Tobin Tyler, Ellen Lawton, Kathleen Conroy, Megan Sandel & Barry Zuckerman (822 pp., 2011, \$65)—Teacher's Manual available as well—has been published by Carolina Academic Press. [13025]

- **"Neighborhoods, Obesity, and Diabetes: A Randomized Social Experiment,"** by Jens Ludwig et al. (11 pp.), appeared in the Oct. 20, 2011 issue of *The New England Journal of Medicine*. Five cities participated: LA, Baltimore, Chicago, NYC, Boston. [13031]

- **"Building Community Engagement in Underserved Neighborhoods: The Path to Health Empowerment,"** sponsored by the Summit Health Institute for Research and

Education, will be held **Nov. 17-18, 2011** at Gallaudet Univ., Washington, DC. Inf. from 877/371-4900, shire@shireinc.org [12976]

- **"Achieving the Promise of Community-Engaged Health Disparities Research: A National Community Partnership Forum,"** sponsored by Community-Campus Partnerships for Health, will be held **Dec. 6-7, 2011** in Boston. Inf. from www.ccpn.info [13038]

- **Family USA's** annual Health Action Conference will be held **Jan. 19-21, 2012** in Wash., DC. Inf. from field@familiesusa.org. [13026]

Housing

- **"The Housing and Neighborhood Conditions of America's Children: Patterns and Trends Over Four Decades,"** by C. Scott Holupka & Sandra J. Newman (31 pp.), appeared in the March 2011 *Housing Policy Debate*. Inf./possibly reprints from sjn@jhu.edu [12979]
- **"The Win/Win Solution: How Fixing the Housing Crisis Will Create One Million Jobs"** (Aug. 2011) is downloadable at http://www.newbottomline.com/download_report_the_win_win_solution [12984]

- **"The Foreclosure Crisis and Its Impact on Communities of Color: Research and Solutions,"** by James H. Carr, Katrin B. Anacker & Michelle L. Mulcahy (55 pp., Sept. 2011), is available (no price listed) from the National Community Reinvestment

Coalition, 727 15th St. NW, #900, Wash., DC 20005. [13003]

- **"Dark Before the Storm: A Picture of Low Income Renters' Housing Needs before the Great Recession from the 2005-2007 American Community Survey,"** by Megan DeCrappeo & Danilo Pelletiere (19 pp., Feb. 2011), is available (possibly free) from the National Low Income Housing Coalition, 727 15th St. NW, 6th fl., Wash., DC 20005, 202/662-1530, www.nlihc.org [13011]

- **"How Government Housing Perpetuates Racial Segregation: Lessons from Post-Katrina New Orleans,"** by Stacy E. Seicshnaydre (54 pp.), appeared in the Spring 2011 issue (Vol. 60, No. 3) of *Catholic University Law Review*. [13020]

- **The National Safe and Healthy Housing Coalition** has a set of publications available. Contact Rick Nevin, 703/435-2725, ricknevin@verizon.net [13036]

- **"Housing + Transit: Connecting Affordable Homes to Transit-Oriented Development in the Austin Region"** was held Oct. 21, 2011 at the Univ. of Texas LBJ School of Public Affairs. Inf. from mpajon@law.utexas.edu [12999]

- **"The National Low Income Housing Coalition"** (headed by former PRRAC Bd. member Sheila Crowley) initiated a lunch time series, all but one of which will have taken place by the time this issue arrives. The remaining one is on HOPWA, **Dec. 5, 2011** at their office, 727

15th St. NW, 8th flr. conf. rm. in DC. Previous sessions were on Indian Housing, How to Use Housing Data, the Community Reinvestment Act, and HEARTH implementation. Inf. from policyintern@nlihc.org [13028]

- **"Investigating Fair Housing Complaints,"** a workshop for investigators with private fair housing organizations, will take place **Feb. 8-9, 2012** at the John Marshall Law School's Fair Housing Legal Support Center. Inf. from them at jmls.edu and 315 S. Plymouth Ct., Chicago, IL 60604. [12970]

Immigration

- **"Immigration and the Changing Face of Metropolitan America,"** sponsored by and held at The Urban Institute, took place Sept. 20, 2011. Inf. from PublicAffairs@urban.org [12968]

International Human Rights and U.S. Civil Rights Policy

- **The Institute for Research & Education on Human Rights** has reinstated its website: IREHR.org. Inf. from them at PO Box 411552, Kansas City, MO 64141, dburghart@irehr.org [12985]
- **"Human Rights: A New (and Old) Way to Secure Justice"** is a newly published special issue of *Clearinghouse Review: Journal of Poverty Law and Policy*. \$15 from the Sargent Shriver National

Center on Poverty Law, www.povertylaw.org [13009]

Rural

- **"The CRLA Rural Justice Forum,"** on farmworker housing conditions and related health disparities, a seminar for advocates, researchers and practitioners, took place Oct. 4, 2011 in Sacramento. Inf. from Ilene Jacobs at Calif. Rural Legal Assistance (headed by PRRAC Bd. member José Padilla), 511 D. St./PO Box 2600, Marysville, CA 95901, bhughes@crla.org [12971]

Miscellaneous

- ***American Dreamers: How the Left Changed a Nation***, by Michael Kazin (329 pp., 2011), has been published by Knopf — an important, well written, meticulously documented history that includes extensive discussion of abolitionism, the Civil Rights Movement and beyond. [12992]
- ***Who's Afraid of Frances Fox Piven?: The Essential Writings of the Professor Glenn Beck Loves to Hate***, by Frances Fox Piven (290 pp., 2011, \$17.95), has been published by New Press, www.thenewpress.com [12997]

Job Opportunities/Fellowships/Grants

- **Relman, Dane & Colfax**, one of the very best civil rights law firms, is hiring a **Litigation Sr.**

Assoc./Litigation Counsel & a Litigation Assoc. Ltr./ resume/legal writing sample/law school transcript/names, email addresses, tel. # of 3 refs. to Taryn Scott, 1225 19th St. NW, #600, Wash., DC 20036 or careers@relmanlaw.com [12957]

- **The Center for Responsible Lending** (Durham, NC) is hiring a **State Legislative Associate**. Resume/ltr. (with position title as subject) to hiringmanager@self-help.org [12958]

- **The Kirwan Inst. for The Study of Race and Ethnicity** at Ohio St. Univ. is seeking an **Executive Director** to replace founder (and PRRAC Bd. member) John Powell, who is moving to lead the new Haas Diversity Research Ctr. at the Univ. of Calif.-Berkeley. Ltr./c.v. to Edwards.633@osu.edu and mail to the Screening Comm. at Kirwan, 55 W. 12th Ave., Columbus, OH. [12960]

- **The American Civil Liberties Foundation** is hiring a **Staff Attorney** for its Racial Justice Program (NYC-based). Ltr./resume/legal writing sample/names of 3 refs. to hrjobs@aclu.org, LGLF-02/ACLU-W in subject line. [12977]

- **United for a Fair Economy** (Boston) is seeking a **Development Director**. Ltr./resume (Development Director-Application in subject line) to jobs@faireconomy.org. Nov. 11 deadline.

- **The Asian American Justice Center** (Wash., DC) is seeking a **President/Executive Director**. Ltr./chronological employment history/salary history and

expectations to aajcsearch@earthlink.net [12994]

- **The Sergeant Shriver National Center on Poverty Law** is hiring a **Housing Staff Attorney**. Ltr./resume/writing sample/refs. to Kate Walz at the Center, 50 E. Washington, #500, Chicago, IL 60602, brenthowell@povertylaw.org [13023]

- **The Western Center on Law & Poverty** is hiring a **Senior Attorney-Litigator** (Health Law) location LA (preferred), Sacto or Bay Area. Ltr./resume/2 writing samples/list of refs. to Denise Williamson at the Center, 3701 Wilshire Blvd., #208, LA, CA 90010, 213/235-2635, dwilliamson@wclp.org Nov. 14 deadline [13035]

- **The Asian Pacific American Legal Center** (Los Angeles) is hiring a **Litigation Director**. Ltr./resume/litigation history/3 refs. ("Litigation Director" in subject line) to hr@apalc.org, or mail to Human Resources, APALC, 1145 Wilshire Blvd., 2nd flr., LA, CA 90017. Full job post at www.apalc.org/jobpdfs/litigationdirector.pdf [12959]

- **The Kirwan Inst. for the Study of Race & Ethnicity** at Ohio St. U. is hiring a **Senior Researcher-Opportunity Mapping & Geographic Information Systems**. Nov. 13 deadline. Inf./Application from Reece35@osu.edu

Poverty & Race Index, Vol. 20 (2011)

This Index includes the major articles in the six 2011 issues of Poverty & Race (Vol. 20). The categories used frequently overlap, so a careful look at the entire Index is recommended. Each issue also contains an extensive Resources Section, not in the Index below, but available in database form for all 20 volumes. We can send an Index for any or all of the first 19 volumes of P&R (1992-2010); please provide a self-addressed, stamped envelope. Articles are on our website, www.prrac.org.

Race/Racism

- 612. "The International Year for People of African Descent," by Richard Clarke, Jan./Feb.
- 613. "The Year's Political Opportunities," by Mirjana Najcevska, Jan./Feb.
- 614. "OLA Oregon Latinos in Action," Jan./Feb.
- 615. "Apologies/Reparations," March/April
- 616. "Why Are African Americans and Latinos Under-represented Among Recipients of Unemployment Insurance and What Should We Do About It?," by Andrew Grant-Thomas, May/June
- 617. "Why Racial Integration Remains an Imperative," by Elizabeth Anderson, July/Aug.
- 618. "Does Unconscious Bias Matter?," by Ralph Richard Banks & Richard Thompson Ford, Sept./Oct.
- 619. "Implicit Bias Insights as Preconditions to Structural Change," by John Powell & Rachel Godsil, Sept./Oct.
- 620. "Litigating Implicit Bias," by Eva Paterson, Sept./Oct.
- 621. "Implicit Bias, Racial Inequality, and Our Multivariate World," by Andrew Grant-Thomas, Sept./Oct.
- 622. "Beyond Bias," by Olatunde Johnson, Sept./Oct.
- 623. "Banks & Ford Response," Sept./Oct.
- 624. "Four New Studies on Race and Poverty Trends," Sept./Oct.
- 625. "Building a National Museum," by Lonnie G. Bunch, III, Nov./Dec.

Criminal Justice

- 626. "A Strategy for Dismantling Structural Racism in the Juvenile Delinquency System," by Edgar S. Cahn, Keri A. Nash & Cynthia Robbins, March/April

Education

- 627. "Dismantling the School-to-Prison Pipeline: A Survey from the Field," by Matt Cregor & Damon Hewitt, Jan./Feb.
- 628. "Suspended Education: Urban Middle Schools in Crisis," Jan./Feb.
- 629. "Game Theory Academy," Jan./Feb.
- 630. "The Role of Teacher Union Locals in Advancing Racial Justice and Improving the Quality of Schooling in the United States," by Mark Simon, May/June

Employment/Labor/Jobs Policy

- 631. "Unions Make Us Strong," by Julius Getman, Nov./Dec.

Health

- 632. "Mossville, Louisiana: A Community's Fight for the Human Right to a Healthy Environment," by Michele Roberts, May/June
- 633. "Understanding Health Impact Assessment: A Tool for Addressing Health Disparities," by Saneta DeVuono-powell & Jonathan Heller, July/Aug.
- 634. "Health Equity for Asian American, Native Hawaiian, and Pacific Islander Children and Youth: What's Racism Got to Do With It?" by Laurin Mayeno, Joseph Keawe'aimoku Kaholokula, David MKI Liu, Lloyd Y. Asato & Winston Tseng, July/Aug.
- 635. "Neighborhood – The Smallest Unit of Health: A Health Center Model for Pacific Islander and Asian Health," by Jamila Jarmon, July/Aug.

Housing

- 636. "Foreclosure and Kids: When Losing Your Home Means Losing Your School," by Vicki Been, Ingrid Ellen, Amy Schwartz, Leanna Stiefel & Meryle Weinstein, March/April
- 637. "On the Front Lines of New Jersey's Mount Laurel Doctrine," by Kevin D. Walsh, March/April
- 638. "Speculators, Not CRA, Behind Foreclosures in Black Neighborhoods," by John I. Gilderbloom & Gregory D. Squires, Sept./Oct.

International Human Rights/U.S. Civil Rights Policy

- 639. "A Human Rights Lens on Civil Legal Assistance," by Martha F. Davis, Jan./Feb.
- 640. "Local People as Law Shapers: Lessons from Atlanta's Civil Rights Movement," by Tomiko Brown-Nagin, May/June

Miscellaneous

- 641. "Beyond Public/Private: Understanding Corporate Power," by John A. Powell & Stephen Menendian, Nov./Dec.

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